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A BALLADE OF THE SCOTTYSSHE
KYNGE.



The Earliest known Printed English Ballad.

A
BALLADE
OF THE
SCOTTYSSHE KYNGE.

WRITTEN BY
JOHN SKELTON,
POET LAUREATE TO KING HENRY THE EIGHTH.

REPRODUCED IN FACSIMILE WITH AN HISTORICAL
AND BIBLIOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION

BY
JOHN ASHTON.

LONDON :
ELLIOT STOCK, 62, PATERNOSTER ROW, E.C.

1882.

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A BALLADE OF THE SCOTTYSSHE KYNGE.

CHAPTER I.

ORIGIN OF BALLADS.

OF all varieties of poetry, the BALLAD, in the form which it affects among us, in distinction to other countries, is, perhaps, one of the most attractive. Although deriving its appellation from a word signifying a *dance* in Italy and France, where the ballad was a metrical narrative, or domestic epic, generally short, or at least not very long, as to its amount, and used as an accompaniment to a dance, the English ballad by no means demanded the dance for its accompaniment, and only signified a fairly short narrative poem in a rhyming metre of a lively, tripping, and popular style, which could be sung or chanted, and as such, was easily distinguished from the true

poem or lay, which was composed in an artificial and more serious verse, and was only intended for recitation. It is difficult, if not altogether impossible, to trace the origin of the present form of the ballad in England. There is great probability that it is contemporary with the times when the alliterative, or initial-rhyming poems of the Anglo-Saxon and Early English poets were gradually giving way to the end-rhyming poetry which Chaucer and his school did so much to dignify.

Of our indigenous ballads, many so-called collections have been compiled. A mere list of the titles would be tedious and of little profit here. Perhaps the oldest known example is that of "King Horn," derived from an older and unfound ballad, yet certainly written in the form in which it is now extant, as early as the thirteenth century. Another celebrated and early ballad, "Gamelyn," is of the fourteenth century. After this period the ballad, in the elastic forms to which it lends itself both as to intrinsic narrative character, and extrinsic metrical adaptation, provided only the quality of being capable of being sung be preserved, springs rapidly into vogue among the copyists, and examples of it abound. In fact, for a season, the ballad occupied a dignified position among less facile forms of poetry. It was a form favoured by the best poets, and admired by the most appreciative listeners. But, after a time, as the progress of

education and the advance of literary taste directed the attention of the better classes to other channels of composition, so the ballad came to be neglected and despised, until at length, particularly in the seventeenth century, it degenerated into a vehicle for ribaldry, obscenity, and scurrility, printed in the simplest and commonest manner, carried about the country by pedlars who pandered to the depraved tastes of their unlettered customers, and, with few exceptions, worthless in every point of its former excellence. Curiously enough an exception must be made with regard to the Scottish ballads, many of which, particularly those relating to martial deeds, or military prowess, are of a far superior character to those of England, which are found contemporary with them. The simpler, chaster, and more martial spirit of the Caledonians, no doubt contributed to this result, and in turn was influenced by it.

Whether the curious "Ballade," which is the subject of the present treatise, should take rank as the earliest known printed ballad in England—or only be entitled to secondary honours—mainly depends on what can be termed a ballad—where a song ends, and a poem commences. It has, however, but one rival, "The Nut-browne Mayd," to which the title of a ballad can be hardly assigned in the same sense of perfectness, and self-completeness that this is.¹ This poem may

¹ It should be borne in mind that Mr. G. Barnett Smith com-

be familiar to many readers, but few know its pedigree, and title to rank as the earliest known printed ballad.

Early in the sixteenth century a book was published at Antwerp, without date or author's name, and this, for want of a better name, has been called "Arnold's Chronicle," or "The Customes of London." Bale, Pits, Stowe, and Holinshed, ascribe this work to Arnold (according to Stowe, "a citizen of London"), "who being inflamed with the fervente love of good learninge, travailed very studiously therin, and princi-

municated the text of this ballad to the "Athenæum," No. 2790, April 16, 1881, p. 525, with descriptive notes relating to the principal events in the progress of its discovery. This was followed in the next number, p. 561, by a paragraph containing an extract from a letter by Professor Skeat to the editor, in which he writes: "I do not quite know why it is called the 'oldest English printed ballad.' The ballad of 'The Nut-brown Maid,' printed at length in my 'Specimens of English Literature,' is quite a famous one; every one should know of it who cares for English Literature. And it was printed in 1502." The same paragraph points out that the accuracy of Mr. Barnett Smith's transcript is impugned. To this Mr. Smith, in the "Athenæum," No. 2792, April 30, pp. 592, 593, replied that his variations consist "in nearly every instance in the substitution of capital letters where they seem to be required, and in the uniform spelling of a word or two where the original was defective." In this reply, also, Mr. Smith admits having for the moment forgotten the claims of "The Nut-brown Maid" for a date of 1502, and he adds, "But after all it is a secondary matter whether 'The Nut-brown Maid' preceded by a few years the ballad of 'The Scottish King,' or whether the latter was the earlier in the order of publication. The one paramount fact is that here—as is generally believed—is a per-

pally in observing matters worthy to be remembred of the posteritye; he noted the Charters, liberties, lawes, constitucions and Customes of the Citie of London. He lived in the year 1519." Whether he, or any one else wrote the book, does not much matter; it is a book entirely on mercantile subjects, with the remarkable exception of the unexpected, and uncalled-for, interpolation of the anonymous poem which has received the name of the "Nut-brown Mayd." The page in "Arnold's Chronicle," which precedes this poem, consists of "The composicion betwene the marchauntis of england and y^e towne of

fectly new ballad, which must possess a strong and genuine interest for men of letters and antiquaries." Mr. Adin Williams, another correspondent to the same periodical, in the same column, challenges Professor Skeat's statement that the date of 1502 is to be assigned to "The Nut-brown Maid," and inclines to 1521 as a nearer date of publication, although the ballad was written about the earlier date mentioned. He says in continuation, "Mr. Barnett Smith might call this the oldest printed ballad, with title-page and date, issued as a book, and not as a portion of a book, even if Arnold's 'Chronicle' is said to have been printed before 1521. But what of the 'Geste of Robin Hood,' Edinburgh, 1508?" Professor Skeat, however, in a subsequent communication (No. 2793, May 7, p. 623) completely demolishes this assertion by showing that there are two old editions of Arnold's "Chronicle," one printed in 1502, and the other in 1521, and suggests the date of the writing of "The Nut-brown Maid" as "about 1500, but that is the very latest date that can be reasonably accepted." To this Mr. A. Williams acquiesces in the following No. 2974, May 14, p. 654.

andwarp, for the coftis of ther marchaundicis brought to the faid towne and leauing thens." Immediately before the poem is "Brokers to pay for a cloth under xl.s. the broker fhall haue ij.g7.

Item for a cloth aboue xl.s. the broker hath iiij.g7.

Item C. ellis cotton cloth payth lyke a clothe iiij.g7. &c"

and immediately after it the book continues the even, bufiness-like tenour of its way, and dilates upon "The rekenyng to bey waris in flaundres." The date of 1502 or 1503 has been afcribed to the "Chronicle", folety for the reason that the laft fheriffs in the compiler's lift, in the firft edition, are Henry Keble and Nicolas Nynes, in the 18th year of King Henry VIII., viz., 1502. This date may or may not be rightly afcribed, and need only be queftioned if the title of the poem of the "Nut-brown Maid" to be confidered a ballad ftands good.

What is a ballad? or rather what *was* a ballad? for we all know its prefent meaning. Chaucer and others ufed the term "balade" for a fong written in a particular rhythm, but that definition paffed away, and it came certainly to mean a popular fong on fome warlike feat, or adventure, love or intrigue, of more or lefs extent, but ftill fhort enough to be fung, and, as I take it, to be fung by one perfon only, there being no antiphonal ballads properly fo called. But the whole of the "Nut-brown Maid" from the

twenty-second line (out of 180) is a metrical dialogue between the knight and the maid, and is, moreover, intended to be so:—

- Line 13. "Than betwene vs, lete vs discusse, what was all the
maner
14. Be twene them too, we wyl also, telle all they peyne
in fere
15. That she was in, *now I begynne, soo that ye me answere.*"

This removes it at once out of the category of a *ballad*. That it has hitherto been thus described is of no importance, and, until this "ballade of the Scottyshe Kyng" was found, it was scarcely worth while to remove the "Nut-brown Maid" from the post of honour. Professor Skeat and others have, nevertheless, accepted this as a ballad; and granting that the "Nut-brown Maid" thoroughly fulfils all the conditions of a ballad, I still claim the highest honours for the "Scottyshe Kyng," on the ground that it is independently published, that it has a title and a colophon, and that it styles itself a ballad, thus leaving no doubt as to its character. It, therefore, stands at present as the earliest printed English ballad.





CHAPTER II.

DESCRIPTION OF THE BALLADE OF THE SCOTTYSSHE KYNGE.



THE description of this poem in the British Museum Catalogue is as follows :—

“James IV. King of Scotland. A ballade of the Scottyfshe Kynge (commencing ‘Kynge Jamy, Jomy your Joye is all go;’) on the battle of Floddon by John Skelton, B.L. Richard Fawkes. London, 1513. 4°. Note. 4 leaves without title page or pagination. 31 lines to the full page. Beneath the title is a woodcut representing two Knights; and beneath the woodcut are the first four lines of the letterpress. This ballad was included in ‘a treatyse of the Scottes’ published later among ‘Certayne bokes cōpyled by Mayfter Skelton’ but with many variations. It is believed to be the first printed English Ballad.”

As far as is known this piece is unique, and its

history is somewhat romantic. On opening the book is found the pen-and-ink note:—

“‘A ballade of the Scottyshe Kyng.’ This formed the inside of the wooden cover of an old folio volume belonging to Miss Chafyn Grove of Zeals House, Bath. The old book, with a great many more, had lain for years on the floor of a garret in a farm house at Whaddon, co. Dorset (now Miss Grove’s), and both farm house and library had come to her by family descent, from Mr. Bullen Reynes of co. Dorset.

“J. E. Jackson,
“Leigh Delamere,
“Chippenham,
“Hon. Canon of Bristol.
“Nov. 9, 1878.”

This authentication is, however, somewhat meagre, and it is a pity that Canon Jackson did not enter more fully into the details of its discovery. It was found, as described, in the cover of the French romance of “Huon of Bordeaux,” printed at Paris by Michel le Noir in 1513, which was bound in oak after its arrival in England. Not the least remarkable circumstance connected with its finding, was that in the other side cover of the book, were two leaves of a very scarce tract on Floddon Field, “The trewe encounter or . . Batayle lately don betwene Englade and: Scotlande. In whiche batayle the . Scottyshe

Kynge was slayne" and known to be printed by Richard Faques.¹ This gave an opportunity of comparing the type and printing of the ballad and prose narrative, and proved that both were the work of Faques, who, indeed, printed at least one other book of Skelton's.² In this I most fully concur, having had

¹ "Richard Fawkes, Faques, or Fakes, is thought by Bagford in his MS. Memoranda, to have been a foreigner, and to have printed in the Monastery of Syon, while one Myghel Fawkes printed in conjunction with Robert Copland in 1535. There is greater probability in the supposition that Fawkes was a relation of William Faques the king's printer (who printed from 1499 to 1508). Few of his books exhibit the same skilfulness of execution as do those of this latter printer. 'However that be (adds Herbert), Mr Thomas Wilfon of Leeds in Yorkshire, in a letter to Mr. Ames, dated April 2, 1751, informed him that Richard Fawkes, printer, was second son of John Fawkes of Farnley Hall, Esqre, in the said County; and that in a pedigree he has, of that family, he is called Printer of London.' There is a loose MS. note in Herbert's 'Memoranda Books' that Wyer was servant to Fawkes; but I have never discovered a volume in which such testimony appears. . . . Time has spared very few of his publications, and his books may be treasured among the rarities of the typographical art."—"Typographical Antiquities," &c., by the Rev. Thomas Frognall Dibdin, vol. iii., p. 355, ed. 1816.

² "Skelton's Garlande or Chapelet of Laurell," 1523. Quarto.

"A ryght delectable tratyse vpon a goodly Garlande or Chapelet of Laurell by mayster Skelton Poete laureat studyously dyuyfied at Sheryfhotton Castell. In y^e foreste of galtres/ wherein ar cō-pryfyde many & dyuers solacyons & ryghte pregnant allectyves of syngular pleasure/ as more at large it doth apere in y^e pces folowyng"

"¶ Inpryntyd by me Rycharde faukes dwellydyg in durā rent

an opportunity of comparing them. It seems, however, that this fortunate discovery was to be full of surprises, for these two leaves were the very ones wanting to complete the copy of this tract in the library of S. Christie Miller, Esq., of Craigentinny, and Britwell, Bucks. The Ballad would, in all probability have remained still longer unknown to the general public, as it was somewhat hidden; being catalogued, as we have seen, under the heading "James IV. King of Scotland"—had it not been kindly pointed out to me by Mr. Anderson of the British Museum, who knew my fondness for ancient ballad literature.

The ballad, although not dated, carries with it internal evidence of its date. Indeed, Skelton was in such haste to sing his pæan, that he evidently acted on the first (and incorrect) version of the victory. It is probable that he did not know of the death of King James; at any rate, he speaks of him all through as living as a prisoner at Norham:—

"For to the Castell of Norham
I vnderstonde to soone ye cam.
For a prysoner there now ye be
Eyther to the devyll or the trinitie."

er els in Powlis chyrche yarde at the sygne of the **A.B.C.**
The yere of our lorde god. **M.CCCC.Cxxij.** The. iiij. day of
Oktobre."

And again :—

“Of the Kyng of nauerne ye may take hede/
How vnfortunately he doth now spede/
In double welles now he dooth dreme.
That is a Kyng witou a realme
At hym example ye wolde none take
Experyence hath brought you in the same brake.”

When Skelton re-wrote the ballad, and published it years after, in “Skelton Laureate against the Scottes,” he was aware of this anachronism and altered it :—

“Unto the castell of Norram
I vnderstande, to sone ye came
Thus for your guerdon quyt ar ye
Thanked be God in Trinitie.”

“Of the Kyng of Nauerne, ye might take heed
Ungraciously how he doth speed
In double delynge, so he did dreme
That he is Kyng, without a Reme.
And for example he would none take
Experiens hath brought you in such a brake.”

Skelton evidently considered it important to be early in the field, and as, from his position as poet laureate and the King's orator, he must needs be loyal above all to his royal master, and thoroughly severe upon his enemies, he called upon Melpomene—

“To guyde my pen, and my pen to embibe
Illumine me your poet and your scribe

That with mixture of Aloes and bitter gall
I may compound, confections for accordiall
To angre the Scottes, and Irish Kiteringes withal
That late were discomfekt, with battaile marcial."

If he could do this, and sing his song of triumph,
there was no need of delay until authentic news of the
victory arrived,—so he set himself to do as he says:—

"So that now I haue deuised
And in my minde I haue comprised
Of the proude Scot, King Jemmy
To write some lytell tragedy
For no manner consideration
Of any sorowful lamentation
But for our special consolacion
Of al our royal Englysh Nacion."





CHAPTER III.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES OF JOHN SKELTON.

HAVING thus established the authorship of the ballad, it will be advantageous to put on record some notices of Skelton himself. There are several quasi portraits of Skelton extant—but there is only one likely to be at all reliable. In the “Chaplet of Laurell” is one, but that is evidently from the same block that represents the month of April in “le cōpost et kalendrier des bergeres” printed by Guy Marchât, Paris, 1499. There was another portrait in an edition of “Dyuers Balletys and Dyties folacious”; but as this also did duty for Dr. Boorde (author of *Wise Men of Gotham*, &c.), it cannot be received as genuine. It seems singular, that, seeing he was a well-known character, and popular writer, old woodcuts should have to do duty for his “vera effigies”; but such is the case.

Another portrait in an edition of “Colin Clout”

printed by Richard Kele, is, to say the least, very dubious, judging by previous experience ; but there is one,—in “Portraits Illustrating Granger’s Biographical History of England,” commonly known as Richardson’s Collection, which really does seem a probable likeness—a flat black cap forms the headpiece of a frank smiling face, which is rather broad, and with pointed chin. He wears a slight beard and moustache. He is dressed in a black cassock and coat, with a collar slightly laced, hair rather short and curling, ears somewhat prominent.

The only attempt at authenticating this portrait is, that it is “from an original picture in the possession of Mr. Richardson.”

His birthplace is unknown, some imagining he was born in Norfolk, others that he came from Cumberland, and we are in equal ignorance as to the date of his birth. It is assumed that it could not be earlier than 1460, and the reasoning by which this surmise has been arrived at, is that probably one of the earliest poems he wrote was that “Of the Death of the Noble prince Kynge Edward the forth”, who died 1483. It is certain that he studied at Oxford, and was laureated there somewhere about 1490, for in the preface to “the booke of Eneydos compyled by Vyrgyle,” which was translated from the French by Caxton, and published by him in 1490, we find “But I praye mayster John Skelton, late created poete laureate in the vnyuersite of oxenford, to ouersee and correct this sayd booke.” Search

was made in the Oxford records by the Rev. Dr. Blifs, who was unable to find any trace of Skelton's distinction, but the poet himself says :—

“ At Oxforth the vniversityte
Auaunfid I was to that degre ;
By hole consent of theyr senate,
I was made poete laureat.”¹

Shortly after, the Univerfity of Cambridge conferred an *ad eundem* degree on him. “ An. Dom. 1493 et Hen. 7. nono. Conceditur Johi Skelton Poete in partibus tranfmarinis² atque Oxon. Laurea ornato, ut apud nos eadem decoraretur,” and in 1504-5 this was again mentioned, and the right of wearing the habit which the King had granted was conceded to him. He was not a little proud of this habit, and in his poems againft Garnefche he mentions it feveral times.

“ What eylythe thé, rebawde, on me to raue ?
A Kyng to me myn habyte gaue : ”

It feems to have been white and green, and exceedingly fine, for he fays :—

“ Your fworde ye fwere, I wene,
So tranchaunt and fo kene,
Xall Kyl both wyght and grene :
Your foly is to grett
The Kynges colours to threte.”

¹ “ Skelton Laureate defendar ageinft lufly Garnyshe well be-
feen Chryftofer Chalangar, et cetera ” lines 81-4.

² Louvain, where he had alfo ftudied.

On this habit, or on some other portion of his attire,
the name of his Muse Calliope was embroidered.

"Why were ye *Calliope* embrawdred with letters of golde?
Skelton Laureate. Orato. Reg. maketh this aunswere &c—

Calliope

As ye may se,

Regent is she

Of poetes al,

Whiche gaue to me

The high degre

Laureat to be

Of fame royall ;

Whose name enrolde

With filke and golde

I dare be bolde

Thus for to were

Of her I holde

And her houfholde ;

Though I waxe olde

And somedeles fere

Yet is she fayne,

Voyde of disdayn,

Me to retayne

Her seruiture :

With her certayne

I will remayne

As my souerayne

Moost of pleasure

Maulgre touz malheureux."

Skelton followed the custom of most learned men
of that age, he entered the Church, and was admitted
to the grade of subdeacon on the 31st March, deacon

14th April, and ordained priest 9th June, A.D. 1498. It is uncertain when he was appointed tutor to Prince Henry, afterwards Henry VIII., but he had basked in the sunshine of court favour for some time previously, for he celebrated the creation of Prince Arthur as Prince of Wales and Earl of Chester in A.D. 1489 in a composition called "Prince Arthur's Creacyoun,"—a piece which is not now extant,—and when Prince Henry was created Duke of York in A.D. 1494, Skelton seized the opportunity of dedicating some Latin verses to his patron. He seems also to have attended to the studies of his young charge, for he writes,¹

"The Duke of Yorkis creauncer whan Skelton was
Now Henry the VIII. Kyng of Englonde,
A Tratyſe he deuyfid and browght it to pas,
Callid *Speculum Principis*, to bere in his honde
Therin to rede; and to vnderſtande
All the demenour of princely aſtate,
To be our Kyng, of God preordinate."

No date has been assigned to his appointment as Rector of Dis in Norfolk, which preferment he seems to have held till his death, but that he had the living in 1504 there can be no doubt, for his signature "Maſter John Skelton. Laureat. Parſon of Diſſe," appears as a witness to the will of Mary Cooper of Dis in that year. Here, however, he came under

¹ "Garlande of Laurell."

the heavy displeasure of his diocefan, Nix or Nykke, on account of his marriage, conduct which would hardly call forth such a heavy punishment now-a-days.¹

¹ In 1873 Mr. Walter de Gray Birch, F.S.A., discovered among the MSS. of Mr. William Bragge, F.S.A., at Sheffield, an unpublished lyric by Skelton referring to this episode in the domestic life of the poet. From the allusion to the separation of a husband and wife, when the latter was "ny off progeny," we may fairly conclude that it was written shortly after Skelton's enforced separation from his wife, during his refuge at Westminster. The poem, which formed the subject of a communication by Mr. Birch to the "Athenæum," is as follows:—

"Petevelly Constraynd am y With weepyng y	}	to morne and playne.
"Thatt we so ny off progeny So fodenly	}	Schuld parte on twayne.
"When yee are goyn Conforte ys noyne Butt al a looyne	}	Endewre muft y.
"With grevyly groyne Makyng my moyne As hytt where oone	}	That schuld nedys dy.
"With chance sodyne Soo doythe me strayne Yn every wayne	}	That for no thyng,
"I cannott layne Nor yeet refrayne Myne yes tweyne	}	Frome soore wepyng."

Fuller¹ says "The Dominican Friars were the next he contested with, whose vitioufness lay pat enough for his hand; but such foul Lubbers fell heavy on all which found fault with them. These instigated Nix Bishop of Norwich, to call him to account for keeping a Concubine, which cost him, (as it seems) a suspension from his benefice. We must not forget how being charged by some on his death bed for begetting many children on the aforesaid Concubine; he protested, that in his Conscience he kept her in the notion of a wife, though such his cowardliness that he would rather confess adultery, (then accounted but a venial;) than own Marriage esteemed a capital crime in that age."

But one can hardly fancy jovial, hard-hitting Skelton, whose "talke was as he wraet," as a priest. As Anthony Wood² says of him, he "was esteemed more fit for the stage than the pew or pulpit," and, indeed, the "certayne merye tales of Skelton, Poet Lauriat," countenance the assertion; and the old story of "Long Meg of Westminster" shows him as drinking at an inn with his hostess, a Spanish knight called Sir James of Castille, and Will Somers, and speaks of him as being in "his mad merrie vein." Churchyard writes that he was "seldom out of Princis grace"

¹ "The History of the Worthies of England endeavoured by Thomas Fuller, D.D." Lond. 1662, p. 257.

² Blifs' edition of "Ath. Oxon.," vol. i., p. 50.

—he had the favour both of his royal master and of Cardinal Wolsey. He was closely allied in friendship with the latter in 1519, for “Lautre envoy” to the “Garlande of Laurell” is dedicated “Ad fereniffimam maieftatem regiam, pariter cum domino Cardinali Legato a latere honorificatiffimo, &c.,” and Wolsey was not sole legate until that year, having previously been joined with Campeggio. Another passage in his works shows he enjoyed the cardinal’s favour. We read in “Lenvoy” appended to “Howe the douty duke of Albany, lyke a cowarde knyght, ran away shamfully with an hundred thoufande tratlande scottes and faint harted frenchemen: beside the water of Twede, &c.”:—

“Skelton Laureat, obsequious et loyall
To my lorde Cardynals right noble grace, &c.

Lenvoy.

Go lytell quayre apace
In moost humble wyfe
Before his noble grace
That caused you to deuise
This lytel enterprife
And hym moost lowly pray
In hys mynde to comprife
Those wordes his grace dyd saye
Of an ammas gray.
Je, Foy enterment
En fa bone grace.”

On account of a circumstance, the reason of which

has not yet been made apparent, his pen so lashed the cardinal, especially in "Why come ye not to Court," which is a gross personal attack, and "Speake parrot," that his eminence became his better enemy. And this is not to be wondered at, for in the former poem Skelton rails violently against him. We may take one or two passages out of several, for example :—

"But this mad Amalecke.
 Like to Amamalek
 He regardeth Lordes
 No more than potthordes
 He is in such elacion
 Of his exaltacion
 And the supportacion
 Of our Soueraine Lorde
 He ruleth al at will
 Without reason or skyl
 Howbeit they be prymordyall
 Of hys wretched originall
 And his base progeny
 And his grefy genealogy
 He came of the ranke roiall
 That was cast out of a bouchers stall

* * * *

For he was parde
 No doctour of devinitie
 Nor doctor of the law.
 Nor of none other saw.
 But a poore maister of arte

* * * *

God saue hys noble grace
 And graunt him a place
 Endlesse to dwel
 With the deuill of hel
 For and he were there
 We need neuer feare
 Of the feendes blacke
 For I vndertake
 He wold so brag and Crake
 That he wold than make
 The deuils to quake."

The cardinal caused meafures to be taken with a view to apprehend him, but Skelton fled, and took sanctuary at Westminster with his old friend Abbot Islip. There he remained most probably until his death, which occurred 21st June, 1529. He was buried in the chancel of St. Margaret's, Westminster.

The quaint poet Churchyarde thus writes of the departed Laureate :—

"Ohe shall I leaue out Skeltons name
 The bloffome of my frute
 The tree wheron indeed
 My branchis all might groe
 Nay Skelton wore the Laurell wreath
 And past in Schoels ye knoe.
 A poet for his arte,
 Whoes iudgment fuer was hie,
 And had great practies of the pen,
 His works they will not lie.
 His terms to taunts did lean,
 His talk was as he wract :

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Full quick of witte, right sharp of words,
And skilfull of the staet.
Of reafon riep and good,
And to the haetfull mynd :
That did difdain his doings still,
A skornar of his kynd.
Most pleafant euery way,
As poets ought to be :
And feldom out of Princis grace
And great with eche degre."

It has been the fafhion to criticife Skelton for the language which he ufed. Pope even went fo far as to call him "beaftly Skelton," and Mifs Agnes Strickland was particularly fevere upon him ; but thefe writers ignore the ftate of fociety as it then was, and forget that both Rabelais and Skelton wrote for a purpofe ; Southey with better difcernment fays : " Unless Skelton had written thus for the coarfeft palates he could not have poured forth his bitter and undaunted fatire in fuch perilous times."





CHAPTER IV.

THE BATTLE OF FLODDON.



THE battle of Floddon has had many chroniclers, and students of history are familiar with its details, but it is necessary, in order thoroughly to understand Skelton's ballad, that the ground should be gone over yet once again.

James IV., King of Scots, was in the seventeenth year of his age when he ascended the throne, having been born 17 May, 1471, and yet even at this early age he had passed through much trouble. He never ceased to bear in mind that his father's sad and violent death had placed him upon the throne; reached as it was by the fearful step of filial rebellion. The confederate barons rose against James III., who marched on Stirling, where Shaw, the governor of the castle and guardian to the young prince, refused him admission. The confederates approached, and the prince joined them,

so that both sides displayed the Royal Standard. It was at Sauchie Burn, between Bannockburn and Stirling, that the armies joined. The fight was very far from desperate, but the timorous king fled. His grey horse galloping along, was frightened by a miller's wife dropping the pitcher which she was filling at a well, and the king was thrown to the ground. He was carried into the miller's house and laid on a bed, where he disclosed himself, and desired that a priest should be summoned to shrive him. The woman ran out calling for a priest for the king, and a man who was passing at the time, under pretence of performing this last office of the church, entered the house and stooped over the king's bed, and stabbed him many times. The feigned priest fled, and was never found.¹

¹ Lindsay's "Chronicles of Scotland" gives the following account of the king's death:—"Cuming throw the toun of Bannockburne, ane woman perceaved ane man cuming fast vpoun hors, shoe being carrying in watter, cam fast away and left the jug behind her; so the Kingis hors lap the burne and flak of friewill quhairfra the woman cam. The King being evill fittin, (*i.e.* riding badly) fell aff his hors befoir the mylne doore of Bannockburne, and so was bruised with the fall, being heaveie in armour, that he fell in ane deadlie fowne: And the miller and his wayff harled him into the mylne, and not knowing quhat he was, kest him vp in ane nuik and covered him with ane cloath; . . . And be the Kingis enemies war reteiring back, the King himself over came lying in the mylne, and cryed, if thair was ane preist to mak his confessioun. The myller and his wayff heiring thir wordis, inquyred of him quhat man he was, and what was his name. He

His father's death preyed upon young James's mind, for although he was not actively associated with it, yet he could not but deem himself to have been in some respects the cause of the king's tragic end, as he was in arms against his father at the time.

Holinshed says : " his eldest son James the fourth was crowned King of Scotland and began his reigne the 24 of June in the yeare 1488 being not past sixteene yeeres of age, who notwithstanding that he had beene in the field with the nobles of the realme against his father, that contrarie to his mind was slaine; yet neuerthelesse afterwards, hee became a right noble prince & seemed to take great repentance for that his offense, and in token therof, he ware continuallie an iron chaine about his midle all the daies of his life."

happened to say, vnhappilie ' This day at morne I was your King ' Than the milleris wayff clapped her handis, and ran furth and cryed for ane preist. In this meane tyme ane preist was cuming by; sum says he was my lord Grayes servand; quho answeired and said " heir am I ane preist, quhair is the King ? " Then the milleris wayff tuik the preist by the hand, and led him in at the mylne doore, and how soone the said preist saw the King, he knew him incontinent, and kneilled down on his knies, and speired at the Kingis grace if he might live if he had guid leichment: he answeired him he trowed he might bot he wold have had a preist to tak his adwyce, and to give him his sacrament. The preist answeired, that fall I doe haistilie,—and pulled out ane whinger, and strak him four or fyve tymes evin to the heart, and syne gatt him on his back and had him away. Bot no man knew quhat he did with him, nor quhair he buried him."

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This chain he increafed in weight every year by the addition of another link, and it was the abfence of this chain on the king's body when found after the battle of Floddon that caufed the rumour that he was not killed, but had efaped, and would come again to reign over his country.





CHAPTER V.

EVENTS IN THE REIGN OF JAMES IV. OF SCOTLAND.

OTHER principal events connected with England in the reign of James IV. are the assistance and countenance which the king gave to Perkin Warbeck, and his marriage with Margaret, the daughter of Henry VII., with whom he received a portion of £10,000, a jointure of £2,000 per annum, and yearly pin money to the value of £331 6s. 8d. being settled by the king on his consort. The royal pair were married in June, 1502, Margaret being taken to her husband by the very Earl of Surrey who was destined afterwards to meet the king, and conquer him at Floddon. The old chronicler¹ tells the story very quaintly, "On the sixteenth of June King Henrie tooke his iournie from Richmond, with his daughter the said ladie Margaret, and came to

¹ Holinshed.

Coliweston, where his mother the Countesse of Richmond then laie. And after he had remained there certeine daies in pastime and great folace, he tooke leaue of his daughter, giuing her his blessing with a fatherly exhortation, and committed the conveiance of hir into Scotland vnto the earle of Surreie, and others. The earle of Northumberland, as then warden of the marches, was appointed to deliuer hir vpon the borders vnto the king of Scotland. And so this faire ladie was conueied with a great companie of lords, ladies, knights, esquires, and gentlemen, untill she came to the towne of Berwike, and from thence vnto Lambert church in Lamermoore within Scotland, where she was receiued by the king and all the nobles of that realme, and from the said place of Lamberton church, she was conueied vnto Edendburgh, where the day after hir comming thither, she was married vnto the said king with great and solemne triumph to the high reioicing of all that were present."

But, as history not infrequently shows, marriage between scions of royal houses does not necessarily produce close and continued amity between the nations, and the causes which led to the disastrous battle of Floddon were not likely to be overcome by such relationship. Of all historians whose researches have led them to treat of this subject, Lingard gives the tersest and clearest account of the various events which

led James to war with England. The passage is worthy to be quoted in its entirety. Of the marriage between James and Margaret, the historian writes, "This new connection did not, however, extinguish the hereditary partiality of the Scottish prince for the ancient alliance with France; and his jealousy of his English brother was repeatedly irritated by a succession of real or supposed injuries. 1. James had frequently claimed, but claimed in vain, from the equity of Henry, the valuable jewels which the late king had bequeathed as a legacy to his daughter, the Scottish queen. 2. In the last reign he had complained of the murder of Sir Robert Ker, the warden of the Scottish marches, and had pointed out the bastard Heron of Ford as the assassin; and yet neither Heron, nor his chief accomplices, had been brought to trial. 3. Lastly, he demanded justice for the death of Andrew Barton. As long ago as 1476, a ship belonging to John Barton had been plundered by a Portuguese squadron; and in 1506, just thirty years afterwards, James granted to Andrew, Robert and John, the three sons of Barton, letters of reprisal, authorizing them to capture the goods of Portuguese merchants, till they should have indemnified themselves to the amount of twelve thousand ducats. But the adventurers found their new profession too lucrative to be quickly abandoned; they continued to make seizures for several years; nor did they confine themselves to

vessels sailing under the Portuguese flag, but captured English merchantmen, on the pretence that they carried Portuguese property. Wearied out by the clamour of the sufferers, Henry pronounced the Bartons pirates, and the lord Thomas and Sir Edward Howard, with the king's permission, boarded and captured two of their vessels in the Downs. In the action Andrew Barton received a wound, which proved fatal; the survivors were sent by land into Scotland. James considered the loss of Barton, the bravest and most experienced of his naval commanders, as a national calamity; he declared it a breach of the peace between the two crowns; and in the most peremptory tone demanded full and immediate satisfaction. Henry scornfully replied, that the fate of a pirate was unworthy the notice of kings, and that the dispute, if the matter admitted of dispute, might be settled by the Commissioners of both nations at their next meeting on the borders.

“ While James was brooding over these causes of discontent, Henry had joined in the league against Louis; and from that moment the Scottish court became the scene of the most active negotiations, the French Ambassadors claiming the aid of Scotland, the English insisting on its neutrality. The former appealed to the poverty and the chivalry of the king. Louis made him repeated and valuable presents of money; Anne, the French queen, named him her

knight, and sent him a ring from her own finger. He cheerfully renewed the ancient alliance between Scotland and France, with an additional clause reciprocally binding each prince to help his ally against all men whomsoever. Henry could not be ignorant that this provision was aimed against himself; but he had no reason to complain; for in the last treaty of peace, the kings of England and Scotland had reserved to themselves the power of sending military aid to any of their friends, provided that aid were confined to defensive operations.

“It now became the object of the English envoys to bind James to the observance of peace during the absence of Henry. Much diplomatic finesse was displayed by each party. To every project presented by the English the Scottish cabinet assented, but with this perplexing proviso, that in the interval no incursion should be made beyond the French frontier. Each negotiated and armed at the same time. It had been agreed that, to redress all grievance, an extraordinary meeting of commissioners should be held on the borders during the month of June. Though in this arrangement both parties acted with equal insincerity, the English gave the advantage to their opponents, by demanding an adjournment to the middle of October. Their object could not be concealed. Henry was already in France; and James having summoned his subjects to meet him on Burrow Moor, despatched his

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fleet with a body of three thousand men to the assistance of Louis."

This very clear and concise historical account brings us down to the time of the ballad, which I shall endeavour, as far as possible, to illustrate by extracts from the writings of contemporary, or nearly contemporary, historians.





CHAPTER VI.

CONTEMPORARY EVIDENCE RELATING TO THE BALLAD.

LORD HERBERT was then besieging Tereouenne, a town in the province of Artois, to the south-east of Calais, and the Earl of Shrewsbury had been sent with a division to support him, when on 21 July, 1513, Henry marched out of Calais, with an army of 15,000 horse and foot. Near Ardres they encountered a strong detachment of French cavalry, who however withdrew, having executed a part of their mission, that of supplying the town with provisions and ammunition. He joined the forces of Lord Herbert and the Earl of Shrewsbury, and sat down before the town, whose siege was to be so slow, and whose ultimate fate was destruction. However, unpropitious weather prevented the English king from occupying the wonderful pavilion of silk and cloth of gold and blue damask, and he had to inhabit a wooden house. The siege progressed until, to use the words of the chronicler

from whom I shall have occasion presently to quote considerably¹:—"The xi daie of August beyng thurday, the Kynge lyeing at the siege of Tyrwyn, had knowlege that Maximilian thêperour was in y^e towne of Ayre. The Kyng prepared al thinges necessarie to mete with themperour in triumph. The noble men of the Kynges camp were gorgeously apparelled, ther courfers barded with cloth of gold, of damaske & broderie, there apparell all tiffue cloth of gold and fyluer, and gold smithes woorke, great cheynes of balderickes of gold and belles of bullion, but in especial y^e duke of Buckingham, he was in purple fatten, his apparel and his barde full of Antelopes and swannes of fyne gold bullion and full of spangyls and littell belles of gold meruelous costly and pleasât to behold. The Kyng was in a garment of greate riches in iuels as perles and stone, he was armed in a light armure, the master of hys horse folowed him with a spare horse, the henxmen folowed beryng the Kyngs peces of harnys, euery one mounted on a greate courser, the one bare the helme, the seconde his graûgarde, the thirde his spere, the fourth his axe, and so euery one had some thyng belonging to a man of armes; the apparell of the ix henxmen were white clothe of golde and crymsyn cloth of gold, richely embrawdred with goldefmythes woorke, the trappers of the corfets were mantell harneys coulpened, and in every vent a

¹ Hall, edit. 1548.

longe bel of fyne gold, and on euery pendant a depe tassel of fyne gold in bullion, whiche trappers were very ryche. The Kyng and themperour met between ayre and the camp, in the fowleſt wether that lightly hath bene ſene. Themperour gentely entertained the Kyng, and the Kyng lykewyſe hym, and after a littell communicacion had betwene them by cauſe the wether was foule, departed for that tyme. The Emperour and all his men were at that daie all in black Cloth for the Emprice his wife was lately diſſeaſed.” Maximilian had come nominally to place himſelf as a volunteer under Henry.

We now come to that portion of the eventful time which more particularly belongs to our ſubject :—
 “ After that the Kyng was thus retorned to his campe, within a day or twayne ther arryued in the army a Kyng of Armes of Scotlād called Lyon with his cote of armes on his back, and deſyred to ſpeke with the Kyng, who within ſhorte tyme was by Garter cheffe Kyng of armes brought to the Kinges preſence, where he beying almoſt diſmayed ſeynge the Kyng ſo nobly accompanied, with few woordes and metely good reuerence, deliuered a letter to the King, which receued y^e letter and redde it him ſelfe, and when he had redde it, without any more delay, he hym ſelfe aunſwered after this forte. Nowe we perceyue the Kyng of Scottes our brother in law & your maſter to be y^e ſame perſon whom we euer toke hym to be,

for we neuer esteemed hym to be of any truthe & so now we haue founde it, for notwithstandinge his othe, his promise in y^e woorde of Kynge & his owne hand and seale, yet now he hath brokē his faithe and promise to his great dishonour and infamie for euer, and entendeth to inuade our realme in our absence whiche he durst not ones attempte, our person beyng presente, but he sheweth himselfe not to be degenerate from the condicions of his forefathers, whose faythes for the most parte hath euer byn violated and ther promises never obserued, farther then they liste. Therefore tell thy master, first that he shall neuer be comprised in any league where in I am a confederate, & also that I suspectyng his treuth (as now the dede proueth) haue left an earle in my realme at home whiche shalbe able to defende him and all his powre, for we haue prouided so that he shall not fynde our land destitute of people as he thynketh to do; but thus saye to thy master, that I am the very owner of Scotlād and y^e he holdeth it of me by homage,¹ and in so much as now contrary to his bounden duety he beinge my vassall, doth rebell against me, wth Gods help I shal at my returne expulse him his realme and so tell hym: first sayd the Kyng of Armes, I am his naturall subiecte & he my naturall lord, & y^e he commaundeth me to say, I

¹ See Ballad:—

“Now must ye knowe our Kynge for your regent/
your souerayne lorde and president/”

may boldly say w^t fauor, but the commaundementes of other I may not, nor dare not saye to my souereigne lord, but your letters may with your honour sent, declare your pleasure, for I may not say suche woordes of reproche to him whome I owe only my allegeaunce & fayth. Then sayd the Kyng, wherfore came you hyther, will you receyue no aunswere? yes sayde Liō your answere requireth doying and no writyng, that is, that immediately you should returne home: Well said the Kyng I wyll returne to your damage at my pleasure, and not at thy masters somonyng. Then the Kyng commaunded garter to take hym to his tente & make him good chere, which so dyd, and cherished him wel for he was fore appalled: after he was departed the Kyng sent for all the chefe capitaynes, and before them and all his counsaill caused the letter to be redde, the trewe tenor whereof foloweth worde by worde.





CHAPTER VII.

Continuation.

THE LETTER OF THE KYNG OF SCOTTES.¹



RIGHT excellent, right high, and mighty Prince, our deereft brother & Coufyng, we commaunde vs vnto you in our mayft harty maner, & receuyed fra Raff heraulde your letters quhatuntill, you approue and allow the doynges of your commiffioners lately beyng with ours, at the borders of bathe the realmes for makyng of redrefse, quylke is thought to you and your counfell fhould be continuet and delaet to the xv daye of Oötober. Als ye write flaars by fee aught not cöpere personally, but by their attorneis. And in your other letters with our herauld Ilay ye afcertaine

¹ This letter, and Henry's reply, appear alfo in Harl. MSS. 2252, and in Holinshed, but as the variations between them are fo very trifling, I ftill quote Hall.

vs ye will nought entre into the treux taken between the maist Christian kyng and your father of Aragon because ye and others of the hale liege, neither should ne make peace, treux nor abstinēce of warre with your common enemy without consent of all the Confederates. And that the Emperour Kyng of Aragon, ye and euery of you be bounden to make actual warre this instant sommer agaynst your commonemie. And that so to do is concluded and openly sworne in Paules kyrke at London vpon saincte Markes daye last by past. And ferther haue denyed faue conduyte vpon our requestes y^t a Seruitor of ours might haue resorted your preface, as our herauld Ilay reportes: Right excellēt, right high, and mightie Prince our dereft brother and Cousyng, the sayd metyng of our and your commissioners at the borders, was peremptorily appoynted betwyxt you and vs eftir diuers dietes for reformaciō before contynued to the Commissioners metyng, to effecte that due redresse shuld haue ben made at the sayde metyng, lyke as for our parte our Commissioners offered to haue made that tyme; and for your part na malefactour was then arrested to the sayde diet. And to glose the same, ye nowe wright, that slaars by see nede not compere personally, but by their attourneys, quylk is agayne lawe of GOD and man. And get in crimenall accion, all slaars shulde nought compere personally, na punicion shulde folowe for slaughter, and than vane were it to seke farther

metynges or redresse. And hereby apperes as the dede shewes that ye wyll nouthur kepe gude weyes of iustice and equitie nor kindnes with vs, the greate wronges and unkyndnes done before to vs and our lyeges we ponderate quhilk we haue suffered this long time in vp beryng, maynswering, nounredressyng of Attemptates, so as the byll of the taken of in haldyng of bastard Heron with his complices in your cuntre, quha slewe our warden vnder traist of dayes of metyng for iustice and thereof was filat and ordaynt to be delyuered in slaynge of our liege noblemen vnder colour by your folkes, in takyng of vthers oute of our realme, prissonet and cheinet by the craggess in your cōtre, withhalding of our wives legacie promist in your diuerse letters for dispite of vs, slaughter of Andrewe Barton by your awne commaund quha than had nought offended to you nor your lieges unre-dressed, and breakyng of the amitie in that behalfe by your dede, and with haldyng of our shippes and artilarie to your vse, quharupon eft our diuerse requi-sitions at your wardens, Commiffioners, Ambassadors, and your selfe, ye wrate & als shewe by vthers vnto vs, that ful redresse fuld be made at the sayde metyng of Commiffioners, and sa were in hope of reformation or at the lest ye for our sake walde haue desistid fra inuasion of our frendes and Cousynges with in their awne countreis that haue nought offended at you as we firste required you in favoure of oure tendre Cou-

fynge the duke of Geldre, quham to destroye and disinherite ye fend your folkes and dudde that was in them. And right sa we latly defyred for our brother and Cousynge the maft Christen kyng of Fraunce, quham ye haue caused to tyne his countre of Mil-laigne, and now inuades his selfe quha is with vs in secunde degree of blude, and hafe ben vnto you kynde witoute offense, and more kyndar than to vs : not-withstandyng in defense of his persone we mon take parte, and therto ye because of vthers haue gyuen occasion to vs and to our lyeges in tyme by past, nouthur doynge iustly nor kyndely towardes vs, procedyng alwayes to the vtter destruction of our nereft frendes, quha mon doo for vs quhan it shall be neces-sarie. In euill example that y^e wyll hereafter be better vnto vs quham ye lightlye fauoure, manifestly wranged your sister for our sake in cōtrary our writtes. And sayeng vnto our herauld that we giue you sayre wordes & thinkes the cōtrary, in dede such it is, we gaue you wordes as ye dudde vs, trustyng that ye shoulde haue emended to vs or worth in kyndar to our frendes for our sakes and fuld noughtight haue stopped oure ser-uitors passage to laboure peax, that thei might as the papes halines exherted vs by his breuites to do. And ther apon we were contented to haue ouersene our harmes & to haue remitted the same, though vther informacion was made to our haly father pape Iuly by the Cardinall of Yorke your Ambassadour. And

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fen ye haue now put vs fra all gude beleue through the premisses, and specially in denyenge of faueconduyte to our seruantes to reforte to your presence, as your ambassador doctor west instantly desyred we fulde sende one of our counsayll vnto you apon greate matters, and appoyntyng of differentes debatable betwyxt you and vs, furtheryng of peax yf we might betwyxte the most Christen Kyng and you, we neuer harde to this purpose faueconduite denied betwixte infideles. Herefore we write to you this tyme at length playnes of our mynde, that we require and desyre you to desiste fra farther inuasion and vtter destructiō of our brother and Cousyng the mayst Christen Kyng, to whome by all confederacion bloude and alye and also by new bande, quhilk ye haue compelled vs lately to take through your iniuries and harmes without remedy done daily vnto vs, our lieges and subdites, we are boundē and oblist for mutuall defence ilke of vthers, like as ye and your confederates be oblist for mutuall inuasions and actual warre: Certifieng you we will take parte in defence of our brother and Cousyng y^e maist Christen Kyng. And wil do what thyng we trayest may craft cause you to desist fra persuite of him, and for denyt and pospoynct iustice to our lieges we mon gyue letters of Marque accordyng to the amitie betwixte you and vs, quharto ye haue had lyttell regarde in tyme by past, as we haue ordaint our herauld the bearer hereof to saye, gife it like you

to here him and gyf him credence : right excellent right high and mighty Prince our dereft brother and Coufyng, the Trinitie haue you in kepyng. Geuen vnder our fignet at Edynborowe the xxvi daie of July.

When the Kyng rede this letter, he fente it in all hafte to the Earle of Surrey into England, whyche then lay at Pomfrett, and caufed another letter to be deuifed to the Kyng of Scottes, the Copie where of foloweth.

Right excellent, right high, and mighty prince &c, and haue receiued your writyng, Dated at Edenburgh the xxvi daie of July by your heraulde Lyon this bearer, wherein after reherfall and accumulaciõ of many furnifed iniuries grefes and damages doone by vs & our fubiectes to you and your lieges, the fpecialites whereof were superfluous to reherfe, remembryng that to theim and euery of theim in effect reasonable aunfwere founded vpon lawe and cõfcience hath tofore ben made to you and youre counfail, ye not only requyre vs to defifte from farther inuafion and vtter deftruction of your brother & Coufyng the French kyng, but alfo certifie vs that you will take parte in defence of the fayd kyng, and that thyng whiche ye trust may rather caufe vs to defifte, from perfuite of him, with many contriued occafions and cõmunications by you caufeles fought and imaged, fownynge to the breache of y^e perpetuall peace, paffed, concluded & fworne, betwixte you and vs, of which your im-

magened querelles caueles deuifed to breake with vs contrarye your othe promifed, al honor and kyndneffe: We cannot maruayle, confideryng the auncient accuftomable maners of your progenitours, whiche neuer kept lenger faythe and promife than pleased theym. Howebeit, yt the loue and dread of God, nighnes of bloud, honour of the world, lawe and reason, had bound you, we fuppose ye woulde neuer haue fo farre proceded, fpecially in our abfence. Wherein the Pope and all princes Chriftened may well note in you, difhonorabie demeanour whan ye lyeing in awayte feke the waies to do that in our fayde abfence, whiche ye woulde have ben well aduifed to attempte, we beyng within our realme and prefent: And for theuident approbation hereof, we nede none other proues ne witneffe but youre owne writynges heretofore to vs fent, we beyng within our realme, wherein ye neuer made mencion of takynge parte with our enemye the Frenche kynge, but paffed the tyme with vs tyll after our departure from our faid realme. And now percafe ye fupposynge vs too farre from our fayde realme to be deftitute of defence agaynft your inuafions, have vttered the olde rancour of your mynde whiche in couert maner ye haue longe kept fecrete. Neuer the leffe, we remembrynge the brytilnes of your promyfe and fufpectynge though not wholly beleuyng fo much vnstedfaftnes, thought it right expedient and neceffarie to put our faide realme in a redynes for refityng

of your sayde enterprifes, hauyng firme trust in our Lorde GOD and the right wytnes of our cause with thassistence of our confederates and Alies wee shalbe able to resyste the malice of all Scysmatyques and their adherentes beyng by the generall counsayll expressly excommunicate and interdycted, trustyng also in tyme conveniente to remember our frendes, and requyte you and our enemies, whiche by such vnnaturall demeanour haue given sufficiente cause to the dysherison of you and your posteritie for ever from the possyibilitie that ye thynke to haue to the royalm, whiche ye nowe attempte to inuade. And yf the example of the kyng of Nauarre beyng excluded from his royalm for assistence gyuen to the Frenche kyng cannot restrayne you frō this vnnaturall dealinge, we suppose ye shall haue lyke assistence of the sayde Frenche kyng as the kyng of Nauarre hath nowe: Who is a kyng withoute a realme, and so the Frenche kyng peaceably suffereth hym to contynue, wherunto good regarde woulde be taken. And lyke as we heretofore touched in thys oure wrytyng, we nede not make any farther aunswere to the manyfolde greues by you surmysed in your letter: for as muche as yf any lawe or reason coulde haue remoued you from your sensuall opinions, ye haue ben many and often tymes sufficientely aunswered to the same: Excepte only to the pretended greues touchyng the denyeing of our saufeconduyte to your Ambassadoure

too bee last sent vnto vs: Where vnto we make this aunswere, that we had graunted the said faufe conduite, and yf your herauld would haue taken the same with hym lyke as he hath ben accustomed to sollicitee faufeconduytes for marchauntes and others heretofore, ye might as sone have had that as any other, for we neuer denied faufeconduyte to any your lieges to come vnto vs & no further to passe, but we see wel lyke as your sayde herauld hath heretofore mad finifter reporte contrary to trouthe so hath he done nowe in this case as is manifest and open. Fynally as towchyng your requisition to desiste from farther attemptyng againste our enemy the French kyng, we knowe you for no competent iudge of so high auctoritie to requyre vs in that behalfe; wherfor God willyng we purpose with the ayde and assistance of our confederates & Alies to persecute the same, and as ye do to vs and our realme, so it shalbe remēbred and acquitted hereafter by the helpe of our lord and our Patrone saint George. Who righte excellent, right highe and myghtie Prince &c. Geuen vnder our signet in our campe before Tyrwyn the xii daye of August.¹

When this letter was written and sealed, the Kynge

¹ This date shows that Lyon was waiting for the King on his return from meeting Maximilian—the answer must have been written the next day.

Skelton evidently saw copies of these letters immediately

fent for Lyon the Scottyfh heraulde and declared to hym that he had wel confidered his mafters letter, and therto had made a reafonable anfwere, and gaue to hym in rewarde a hundred angels, for which rewarde he humbly thāked the kyng and fo taried with gartier al night, and euer he fayde that he was fory to thynke what damage shoulde be done in Englande by his Mafter or the kynge returned, and fo the nexte daye he departed into Flaunders wyth hys Letter to haue taken fhyppe to fayle in to Scotlande, but or he coulde haue fhyp and wynde hys mafter was flayne."

after their arrival in England—as he makes ufe of the very phrafeology—"Who is a Kynge withoute a realme," when fpeaking of the King of Navarre.





CHAPTER VIII.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE SCOTTISH CAMPAIGN.

MEANWHILE the Earl of Surrey, who had been left by Henry to look after the Scots, and who had promised "so to do my duety that your grace shal fynde me diligent, and to fulfill your will shalbe my gladnes," sent Sir William Bulmer to look after the Border land. And it was lucky he did so, for "one daye in August, the lorde Chamberlayne and Warden of Scotland with vii or viii **or** men with banner displayed entered into England and brent and haryed a great praye in Northumberland; that hering Syr Williã bulmer called to hym the gentelmen of the borders with his archers and al they were not a thousand men. And when they were nere assembled they brought thẽ selves in to a brome felde called Mylfeld, where the Scottes should passe. And as y^e Scottes proudly returned with their pray, the Englishmen brake oute, and the

Scottes on fote like men them defended, but the arches shotte so holy together, that they made y^e Scottes geve place and v or vi hundred of them were flayne, and iii hundred or more taken prisoners, and the pray reckned beside a great nūber of geldinges that were taken in the countrey, and the lorde Hume lorde Chamberlayne fled and his banner taken."

This was an unlucky beginning for the Scots, and it had the effect of causing James to take the fatal resolution of invading England. But he did not enter into it heartily, and the superstitious of that age afterwards called to mind several portents in connection with the commencement of the campaign. Lindsay mentions one or two, "Att this tyme the king came to Lithgow quhair he was at the counfall verrie sad and dollorous, makand his prayeris to God, to send him ane guid succes in his voyage.¹ And thair cam ane man clad in ane blew gowne, belted about him with ane roll of lining, and ane pair of brottikines on his feitt, and all vther thingis conforme thairto. Bot he had nothing on his head, bot syd hair to his shoulderis and bald befoir. He seemed to be ane man of fiftie yeires, and cam fast forwardis, crying among the lordis, and speciallie for the king, saying, that he desired to speak with him, quhile at the last he cam to the dask, quhair the king was at his prayeris.

¹ This story is also related by Buchanan and Holinshed.

But when he saw the king he gave him no due reverence nor salutatioun, but leined him doun gruf-lingis vpoun the dask, and said, "Sir King, my mother has sent me to the, desiring the not to goe quhair thow art purposed, quhilk if thow doe, thou fall not fair weill in thy journey, nor non that is with the. Fardder, shoe forbad the, not to mell nor vse the counsell of vomen, quhilk if thow doe, thow wilbe confoundit and brought to shame." Be this man had spoken thir wordis to the king, the evin song was neir done, and the king paused on thir wordis ; studieing to give him ane answer. Bot in the meane tyme, befor the kingis eyis, and in the presence of the wholl lordis that war about him for the tyme, this man evanished away, and could be no more seene. I heard Sir David Lindsay, lyon herald,¹ and Johne Inglis the marchell, who war at that tyme young men, and speciall servandis to the kingis grace, thought to have takin this man, bot they could not, that they might have speired farther tydingis at him, bot they could not touch him. But all thir vncouth novellis and counsell could not stay the king from his purpose, and vicked interpryse, bot haisted him fast to Edinburgh to mak provisioun for himself and his armie againe the said day apoyntted. That is, he had sewin great cannonees out of the Castle of Edinburgh,

¹ This is hardly reconcileable with the fact that Lyon was then engaged on his embassy to Henry.

quhilkis was called the Sewin Sisteris, castin be Robert Borthik ; and thrie maister gunneris, furnisched with poudre and leid to thame at thair pleasure ; and in the meane tyme they war taking out the artillarie, the king himselff being in the Abbey, thair was ane cry heard at the mercatt croce of Edinburgh, about midnight, proclamend, as it had beine ane fummondis, quilkis was called be the proclamer thairof, the fummondis of Platcok, desiring all earles, lordis, barrones, gentlmen, and fundrie burgesis within the toun, to compeir befor his maister within fourtie dayes, quhair it fould happin him to be for the tyme, vnder the paine of disobedience ; and so many as war called war designed be thair awin names. But whidder this fummondis was proclaimed be vaine perones, night walkeris for thair pastyme, or if it was ane spirit I cannot tell. But on indweller in the toun, called Mr. Richard Lawfoun, being evill dispossed, ganging in his gallrie, start fornent the croce, hearing this voyce, thought marvell quhat it should be ; so he crye^d for his servand to bring him his purs, and tuik ane croun and kest it over the stair, saying “ I for my part appealis from your fummondis and judgment, and takis me to the mercie of God.” Werrilie he quho caused me cronicle this was ane sufficient landit gentlman, who was in the toun in the meane tyme, and was then twentie yeires of aige ; and he swore efter the feild thair was not ane man that was called at that

tyme, that escaped, except that on man, that appailed from thair judgmentis."

James' wife is said to have added her entreaties to prevent the campaign, but, needles to say, with no effect, and he crossed the Tweed on the 22nd August, with an army ¹ "whereof the brute was that they were two hundred thousand, but for a fuertye they were an hundred thousand good fightyng men at the left," and encamped on the banks of the Fill, a little river which flows into the Tweed. Here he seems to have remained until the 24th, during which time he issued a proclamation, dated "Twefil hauch," (Twizell haugh), with a view to encourage his troops, ordaining "gif any man beis slane or hurt to deid in the kings army, and oist be Inglesman, or dies in the army, enduring the tyme of his oist, his aires shall have his ward, relief and marriage, of the king fre, dispendand with his age, quhat eild that ever he be of."

The King then moved on to Norham Castle, where, according to Holinshed, he "ouerthrew the Barnekine, & slue diverse within the castle, so that the Capteine and such as had charge within it, desired the King to delaie the siege, while they might send to the earle of Surreie alreadie come with an armie into the north parts, covenanting if they were not rescued by the nineteenth day of that moneth, they should deliuer

¹ Hall.

the castle vnto the King. This was granted; and because none came within the time to the rescue, the castle was delivered at the appointed day; a great part of it was overthrowne and beaten downe." Moving rapidly along the Tweed, the king took Wark Castle, and turned inland, taking Etal and Ford.¹ Here he wasted precious time, if the old Chroniclers can be trusted, in an extremely unprofitable manner. James was always extremely susceptible to female beauty, and, forgetful of his Wife Margaret, succumbed to the charms of Lady Heron of Ford,² if the Scotch version be true. Still adhering to my plan of giving contemporary history if possible, I quote the following extract from Lindsay:—"Some sayes the ladie Foord being ane bewtifull voman, the King melled with hir, and the bischope of St. Androis³ with hir dochter, quhilk was againes the ordour of

¹ Remains of all these castles still exist.

² "Sir William Heron succeeded his brother John in the year 1498, being then 20 years old. He was high Sheriff of Northumberland in the year 1526, and died 8 July, 1535. He was twice married. By Elizabeth his first wife, he had a son, William, who died before him; by the second, Agnes, he had no issue."—No mention is anywhere made of a daughter of Lady Elizabeth Heron.

³ A natural son of James, by Margaret, daughter of Archibald Boyd of Bonshaw, born 1495. By a dispensation from the Pope, the King created him Archbishop of St. Andrews, in 1509, and made him his Chancellor 1511. He was also the Pope's Legate a latere.

all guid captanes of warre to begin at whordome and harlottrie, befoir ony guid succces of battell or victorie. But doubtles sick proceedingis is oftymes the occasioun of ane evill succces. Alwayes, the King remained thair the space of twentie dayes, without battell, or no appeirance of the same, quhill the most pairt of thair victuallis war spendit, and speciallie the farre north-land menis, and the illes menis, that they war forced to goe home to furnisch the same; and everie lord and barrone send home of his speciall servandis for new provisioun; so that thair abod not above ten thousand men with the King, by bordereris and countrie men. Yitt the King tuik no fear, for he beleived that the Inglishmen should not have given him battell at that tyme. But this vicked ladye Fuirde, sieing the Kingis hoast so disperst, for laik of victuallis, and knew all the secreitis that war amongest the Kingis men, and the intentioun of the King himselff, and secreit counfall, quhilk knawledge shoe had be hir frequent whordome with the King, quhilk moved hir to ask licence of the King to pas innerward in the countrie, to speak with certane of hir friendis, saying to the King that shoe should bring him all newis out of the south countrie, quhat they were doing, or quhat was thair purpose to doe, and thairfoir shoe desired the King to remane thair till hir return. And he againe, as an effeminat prince, subdewed and intyfed be this vicked voman, gave hir haistilie credence in

this matter, and believed all that shoe had said to be trew. So he caused convoy her ane litle space from the hoast as shoe desired. But this ladie Fuirde being myndful to keip no credit with the King, for the loue shoe buire to hir native countrie, shoe past haistilie to the earle of Surrey, quhair he was lyand at York at that tyme, and shew to him the haill secrettis of the King, and how many he was, and quhair his armie lay, and quhat poyntt they war att, and how his men war disperst, and past from him for laik of victuallis, and that thair was not abyding with him but ten thousand of all his great armie. Quhairfoir shoe counsalled the earle of Surrey to cum fordwadis vpoun him, assuring him of victorie, by hir ingyne, for shoe should deceave the King, also farre as shoe might, and put him in the Inglismenis handis. Thir novellis being showin to the earle of Surrey, be this vicked voman, he greatlie rejoyced thairat, and thanked her greatumlie for hir laboures and paines, that shoe tuik for hir native countrie promiseaud to hir, that within thrie dayes he should meitt the King of Scotland."





CHAPTER IX.

NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE ENGLISH AND SCOTCH.

WHETHER there is any foundation for this story or not, we have it on Hall's authority that Lady Elizabeth Heron was the subject of diplomatic negotiation between the Earl of Surrey and King James on 4 September in that year, the Earl then being at Alnwick. "And when all men were appoynted and knewe what too do, The erle and hys counsayll concluded and determined emonge other thynges to fende Rouge crosse, purfuaunt of armes with a trompet to the kynge of Scottes with certayne instructions, signed by the sayde erle conteynynge woorde by woorde as foloweth.

Fyrst where there hathe bene fuyte made to the Kyng of Scottes by Elizabeth Heron, wyfe to William Heron of Forde, nowe pryssoner in Scotlande, for castynge doune of the house or Castell of Forde, and

as the sayde Elizabeth reporteth vppon comunicacion had, the sayde kynge hath promysed and condiscended to the sayde Elizabeth, that if she any tyme before none, the fift daye of September, woulde brynge and deliuer vnto hym the lorde Johnstowne, and Alexander Hume, then prysoners that tyme in Englande, he then is contented and agreed that the sayde house or Castell shal stande without castynge doune, brennyng or spoylyng the same: Whereunto the sayde erle is content with that, vppon thys condicion, that if the sayde kynge wyll promytte the assuraunce of the sayde Castell, in maner and forme aforesayde vnder hys seale, to deliuer the sayde lorde of Johnstowne and Alexander Hume, immediately vppon the same assuraunce. And in case the sayde kynge can and will be content to delyuer the sayde Heron oute of Scotlande, then the sayde erle shal cause to be deliuered to the sayde kynge the two gentelmen, and two other, fyr George Hume and William Carre."

James detained Rouge Croix Pursuivant and sent his Herald Ilay on the 6th September to the Earl of Surrey, with the message "as touchynge the sauynge from brennyng or destroyng, and castynge doune of the Castell of Forde, for the deliueraunce of the sayde prisioners, The kyng hys master woulde thereto make no aunswer."

Whilst James, however, wasted time at Ford, and his army dwindled away, Surrey was far from idle. News

of James's entry into England first reached the Earl on the 25th August. He immediately summoned a general muster at Newcastle on the first of September; and he himself started for York with five hundred men, leaving the next day for Newcastle. At Durham he heard of the fall of Norham, and Hall goes on thus with his narrative:—"thys chaunce was more sorowfull to the erle then to the Bishoppe owner of the same. All that nyghte the wynde blewe corragiously, wherefore the erle doubted least the lorde Hawarde hys sonne greate Admyrall of Englande shoulde perish that nyght on the sea, who promised to land at Newcastell with a thousand men, to accompaynie hys father, whyche promyse he accomplished.

The erle harde Masse, and appoynted with the Prior for Sainte Cutberdes banner,¹ and so that daye beyng the thyrty daye of August he came to Newcastell: thither came the lorde Dacres, fyr William Bulmer,

¹ Presumably to inflame the courage of his border troops. Lambe, without mentioning his authority, gives the following description of the banner:—"Soon after the battle of Nevil's Cross, A. 1346, John Toffer, prior of Durham, made a new banner, and consecrated it to St. Cuthbert. The staff of it was five yards long, covered with pipes, surmounted with a cross, under which was a rod, as thick as a man's finger, fastened by the middle to the staff. At each end of which was a wrought knob and a little bell. All these except the staff were of silver. The banner cloth of red velvet, fastened to the rod, was a yard broad, and one yard and a quarter deep: The bottom of it was indented in five parts; on both sides it was embroidered, and wrought with flowers of green

fyr Marmaducke Conftable, and many other fubftanciall gentlemen, whome he retheyned wyth him as counfayllers, and there determined that on Sundaye next enfuyng, he fhoulde take the felde at Bolton in Glendale, and becaufe many fouldiours were repayrynge to hym he lefte Newcaftell to the entent that they that folowed, fhoulde haue there more rome, and came to Alnewyke the thyrde day of September, and becaufe hys fouldiars were not come, by reafon of the foule waye, he was fayne to tarye there all the fourthe daye beyng Sundaye, whyche daye came to hym the lord Admyrall hys fonne with a compaignye of valyaunt Capitaynes and able fouldiars and maryners, whiche all came from the fea, the commynge of hym mucche reioyced hys father, for he was very wyfe, hardy, and of greate credence and experience."

filk and gold. In the midft of it was a fquare half yard of white velvet, whereon was a crofs of red velvet, on both fides of the cloth. In it was enclosed that holy relique, the corporax cloth, wherewith St. Cuthbert covered the Chalice, when he faid maf. The banner cloth was fkipted with a fringe of red filk and gold; and at the bottom of it hung three filver bells."





CHAPTER X.

BATTLE OF FLODDON FIELD.

HAVING traced the course of Scottish history to this point, we may continue it by means of the account of the battle of Floddon Field, two leaves of which were bound up, as already related, in the cover of the same book as the "Ballade of the Scottyshe Kynge;" and this is all the more appropriate, not only on account of the association of the piece in question, but because it is scarce, was contemporary, and was printed by the same printer. The tract in Mr. Christie Miller's possession is unique. It was purchased by the Marquess of Blandford, and at the sale known as White Knights' Library in 1819, was sold for £13 13s. It has, however, been reprinted in its mutilated condition, first in 1809, "under revise of Mr. Hasselwood;" and secondly in 1822, at Newcastle, by Wm. Garrett.

A BALLADE OF THE SCOTTYSHE KYNGE. 63

¶ Hereafter enfue the trewe encountre or . .
Batayle lately don betwene . Englāde and : Scotlande.
In whiche batayle the Scottishe Kynge was flayne.



¶ The maner of thaduaucefynge of my lord of
Surrey trefourier and . Marshall of . Englande and
leuetenute generall of the north pties of the fame
with . xxvi . M. men to wardes the kynge of . Scott/
and his . Armye vewed and nombred to an/ hundred
thousande men at/ the leest.

Firſte my ſayd Lorde at his beyng at Awnewik in
 Northumbrelande the .iiij. daye of .Septembre the
 .v. yere of y^e Reygne of kynge Henry the .viii.
 herynge that y^e kynge of Scottes thenne was re-
 moued from Norhme. And dyd lye at forde .
 Caſtel/ & in thoſe ptyes dyd moche hurte in ſpoilyng
 robynge/ and brennyng/ ſent to the ſayde kynge of
 Scottes Ruge Cros purſeuante at .Armes to ſhewe
 vnto hym that for ſo moche as he the ſaid Kynge con-
 trary to his honour all good reaſon & conſcyence
 And his oothe of Fidelite for y^e ferme entartnyng of
 perpetuall peas betwene the kyng/ hygnes our .
 Souerayne lorde and hym had inuaded this Raalme/
 ſpoylad brente and robbyd dyuers and ſondery
 townes and places in the ſame. Alſo had caſte and
 betten downe the Caſtel of Norhme And crewella
 had murdered & ſlayne many of the kynnes liege
 people he was comen to gyue hym bayta. And de-
 fyred hym y^t for/ ſo moche/ as he was a kynge and
 a great Prynce he wolde of his luſty & noble
 courage coſent therunto and tarye y^e ſame. And
 for my ſayde Lordes partie his lordeshyp promyſed
 ye affured Accomplyſhement and perfourmauce
 therof as he was true knyght to god and the kynge
 his mayſter The kynge of ſcottes herynge this/
 meſſage reynued & kept w^t hym y^e ſayd Ruge Cros
 purſenanta & wolde nat ſuffre hym at y^e tyme to
 retourne agayne to my ſayde lorde.

The .v. daye of Septembre his lordshyp in his ap-
prochyng nyghe to the borders of . Scotlande/ mus-
tred at Bolton in glendayll & lodged that nyght
therein y^t felde with all his Armye.

¶ The nexte daye beyng the .vi. daye of Sep-
tembre the kynge of scottes sent to my sayd lor of
Surrey a harolde of his called Ilaye and demaunded
if that my sayde Lorde wolde iustefye the message
sent by the sayd purfeuaunte ruge cros as is aforesayd
fygnesyng that if my lorde wolde so doo/ it was the
thyng/ that moost was to his . Ioye end comforte.
To this/ demaunde/ my lord made answere afore
dyuers lordes/ knyghtes and gentylme nyghe . iij myles
from the felde where ys the sayde harolde was
apstoyned to tarye bycause he shulde nat vewe the
Armye that he coumaunded nat oonly the/ sayde .
Ruge cros to speke and shewe the seyde werdes of
his message. But also gaue and comytted vnto hym
the same by . Instruccion fygned/ and subscrybed/
with his owne hande/ whiche my sayde lorde sayd/ he
wolde . Iustefye/ and for so moche as his lordshyp
conceyued by the/ sayde . Harolde/ how . Joyous and
comfortabe his message/ was to y^e sayde Kynge of
scottes he therfore for the more assuraunce of his
wessage shewed that he wolde be boūden in . x.Mli. &
good suertes with his . Lordshyp to gyue the sayde
kynge batayle by Fridaye/ next after at the/ furthest/
If that the sayde kynge of/ scottes wolde/ assyne and

appoynte any/ other Erle or Erles of his/ Realme to be bounden in lyke maner that he wolde abyde my fayde/ lordes commynge And for somoche as the fayd kynge of . Scottes reeuued styll with hym Ruge Cros purseuante and wolde nat suffre hym to retourne to my lorde my/ fayde lorde in lyke and semblable maner dyd kepe/ with/ hym the scottishe Harolde . Ilay and fant to the fayd kynge of scottes with his answere and further offer/ as is/ afdre reherfed/ A gentylman of scotlande that accompanied and came to my fayde lorde wiche the fayd Harolde . Ilay/ And thus . Ilay contynued and was kepte close tyll the commynge home of Ruge cros whiche was the next daye after/¹ And thenne/ Ilay was put at large and lyberte to retourne

¹ According to Hall, Rouge Croix had a narrow escape :—
 “ You haue harde before, howe Ilay the Scottishe Heraulde was returned for Rouge Croffe, and as sone as Rouge Croffe was returned he was discharged, but he taryed with Yorke an Englishe Heraulde makynge good chere, and was not returned that mornynge that Rouge Croffe came on hys message, wherefore Rouge Croffe and hys trompet were detayned by the seruaunte of Ilay, whiche the daye before went for Rouge Croffe, assuryng them that if Ilay came not home before none, that he was not liuinge, and then they shoulde haue their heddes stryken of, then Rouge Croffe offered that hys seruaunt should go for Ilay, but it would not be excepted, but as hap was Ilay came home before none, and shewed of his gentell enterteynynge, and then Rouge Croffe was deliuered, and came to the Englishe armye, and made reporte as you haue hearde.”

to the kynge of scottes his maystere to shewe my lordes answeres declaracyons and goodly/ offers as he had hade in euery behalue of my sayde lorde.

¶ The same daye my Lorde deuyded his Arme in two betaylles that is to wytte in a vauwarde and a rerewarde and ordeyned my lorde Hawarde Admorall his sone to be . Capitayne of the sayde vaunwarde/ and hymselfe to by chefe Capitayne of the rerewarde.

¶ In the breste of y^e sayde vauuwarde was wt the sayde Lord Admorall ix . thousande men and vnder Capitaynes of the sams breste of the batayle was the lord . Lumley: fyr Wyllm Bulmer: the baron of Hylton and dyuerse other of the Byshopryche of Duresme: under . Seynt: Cuthbert/ banner the lorde . Scrope of vpsall/ the lorde Ogle/ fyr wylliam Gafcoygne/ ser Cristofer warde/ fyr John Gueringhm fir walter Griffith/ fyr John Gower: and dyuers othes Esquyres and gentylmen of yorke-shyre and North-umberlaed/ And in ayther wynges of the same batayle was iii M . men.

¶ The Capitayne of the right wynges was mayster Edmonde hawarde sone to my seyde lorde of Surrey/ And with hym was fyr Thomas Butler/ fyr . John Boothe fyr Richarde Boolde/ and dyuerse other Esquyers/ & gentylmen of Lanca-shyre end Chaf-shyre.

¶ The Capitayne of the laste wynges was olda fyr Marmaduke. Costeble & with hym was mayster

wyllm Percy his fona . Elawe willm Constable his broder/ fyr. Robert Constabla mamaduke Constable willm Constable his fones/ And fyr John Costable of holdernes with dyuerse his kynnesmen Allies and othea Gentylmen of yorke shyre and Northumberlande.

¶ In the breste of batayle of the sayde rerewarde was . vM. mon with my falde lorde of . Surrey/ and vnder. Capitaydes of the same was the lord Scrope of Bolton fyr Philype Tyney broder Elawe to my sayd lord of. Sur.rey George darcy fone and heyre to the lorde Darcy,¹ Sir Philipe Tylney broder in law to my said Lorde of Surrey, Sir John Roccliff, Sir Thomas Methine, Sir William Scargill, Sir John Normavell, Sir Rauff Ellircar, Sir Ric. Abdeburghe, and dyuers oder Esquyers gentillmen and comyns of Yorkshir. And in ather wynges of the said rerewarde was. iij. thousande men.

¶ The Capitaine of the right wynges, was the lord Dacre of the Northe and with hym. xv. C. of the Busshop of Eleis men, sent frome out of Lankashir,

¹ Here begins the missing portion found in the book-cover, which is taken from a MS. in the possession of the late David Laing, Esq., LL.D. V.P.S.A. Scot., read by him before the Society, March, 1867, the accuracy of which, compared with the printed text he guarantees. Dr. Laing, with respect to the reproduction of the text, gives the following explanatory notice: "It is now printed with no other alterations, than correcting the punctuation, rejecting ordinary contractions in MSS. or printed books of that age, and using capital letters for proper names."

And the capitaine of the left wyng of the said rerewarde, was Sir Edward Stanley accompanied hooly with dyuers knyghtts and gentilmen of Lancashire.

¶ My lorde of Surrey beyng thus ordered and accompenyed as is aforesaid removed upon. vi. myles to a ffelde callid Woller Haghe withynne. iij. myles of the king of Scottes, wher as euery man myght se, how the said King of Scottes did lye with his Army vpon an high hill in the egge of Cheviotte, withynne .ij. myles of Scotlande, wherunto he had remoued from Forde Castell, ovir the watir of Till, and was encloosed in thre parties, with three great mountaynes, foe that ther was noe passage nor entre vnto hym but oon waye, wher was laied marvelous and great ordenance of gonnes, that is to wit. v. great curtalles. ij. great colveryns. iiij. Sacres and. vi. great Serpentyne as goodly gounes as haue bene sene in any realme. And beside theme, wher othir dyuers small ordenances. and the same day at night my Lorde and all the army did lye upon the said grounde callid Woller Haghe.

¶ And conceiving the said King of Scottes to lye foe stronglye as is aforesaid, and that ther was a fair plaine at the nethir parte of the said mountaines callid Mylnfelde, my said Lorde of Surrey tarried vpon the same grounde. all the next daye. the. vij. day of Sep-tembr and the nyght after trustyng that the King wolde haue remoued downwade to the said grounde to

have gyven hym battell. And feyng that the said King of Scottes contynued still in the same mountaine without remouyng in any wise and all his ooste with hym, my said Lorde doutyng of the said Kings aboid and tarrying, because it was suspect he wolde haue fled away in the night, infomyche that he was withynne. ij. myles of his oune realme sent unto hym Ruge Cros purfivaunte at harmes. And eftsoones requyred hym to come doune to the said plaine of Mylfeilde. wher was conveyent grounde for the metyng of twoe Armyes, or to a grounde bye callid Floddon or to any othir indifferent grounde for twoe batells to feight vpon.

¶ At this tyme the King waxed angry and displeased towarde my said Lorde, and wold not spek with Ruge Cros purfivaunte but had reporte of his message, by a gentillman which made relacion ayeine of the same to Ruge' Cros on this maner with like termes. The King my maister wills that ye shall shewe to Therle of Surrey, that it besemeth hym not being an Erle, so largely to attempte a great prince, his grace woll take & kepe his grounde and felde at his oune pleasour, and not at the assignyng of Therle of Surrey, whoom the King my maister supposeth to deall with some wichecrafte or sawcery because he procureth to feight vpon oon the said grounde. The said Ruge Cros having this answer, retorned ayeine to my Lorde and shewed his lordship the same.

¶ My said Lorde of Surrey conceiuyng that the King of Scottes did contynually rest and remaine in the said foretres invironde with the said mountain and that he wolde not in any wise remove frome the same to any othir indifferent grounde to abide or gyve batell, removed his ffelde the. viij. day of Septembre being our Ladies day the Natiuitie, and passed ovir the water of Till, and contynually all that day went with the said hoole Army in aray, in the sight of the said King of Scottes, at the furthest frome hym withynne two myles, and that night loged vnder a wodside callid Barmor Wode directly ayeinste the King aforesaid, and his army Albeit there was an hill betwene the hooftes for avoiding the daunger of goune shoote, and notwithstanding. iiij. or. v. daies passed ther was litle or noe wyne, ale, nor bere, for the people to be refreshed with but that all the hool army for the mooste parte wer enforced and constreyned of necessity to drynke water duryng the same tyme and season without comforte or truste of any relieff in that behalue. My said Lorde of Surrey, and the said army, the said daunger and wantyng of drynke notwithstanding, coragiouflye avaunced forewarde to get betwene the said King of Scotts and his realme of Scotlande countenanfing to goo towarde Scotlande or Barwike. The said King conceiving this and as it is confessed fered that my said Lorde and the Army of Englande wolde haue gon in to Scotlande, did cause

his tents to be taken vp and kepyng the height of the mountaine, removed with his great power and puffaunce of people out of the said great fortrefes towarde Scotlande. And furthwith the Scottes by thair crafty and subtill emaginacion did sett on fire all such thair fylthy strawe and litter wher as they did ly and with the same made such a great and a marvelous smoke that the maner of thair araye therby couth not be espyed. Immediatly, my Lorde Hawarde with the vawarde, and my Lord of Surrey with the rerewarde in thair mooste qwyke and spedy maner avaunced and made towarde the said King of Scotts as faste as to thaim was possible in aray, and what for the hilles and smoke long as it was or the aray of the Scotts couth be conceived, and at the laste, they appeired in .iiij. great batells.

¶ And as soone as the Scottes perceived my said Lordes to be withyn the daunger of thair ordenance they shote sharpely thair gounes which wer verray great, and in like maner our partye recounterde them, with thair ordenance, and notwithstanding that othir our artillery for warre couth doe no good nor advantage to our army because they wer contynually goyng and advanfyng vp towarde the said hilles and mountaines, yit by the help of God our gounes did foe breke and constreyn the Scottishe great army that some parte of thaim wer enforfed to come doune the said hilles towarde our army. And my Lorde Hawarde conceiving

the great power of the Scottes sent to my said (Lorde) of Surrey his fader and required hym to aduance his rerewarde and to joine his right wyng with his left wyng for the Scottes wer of that might that the vawarde was not of power nor abull to encounter thaim. My said lorde of Surrey perfitey vnderstanding this with all spede and diligence, lustely, came forwarde and joyned hym to the vawarde as afor was required by my said Lord Hawarde, and was glad for neecessite to make of two battalles oon good battell to aventure of the said . iiij . batelles.

¶ And for so myche as the Scottes did kepe thaim feuerall in . iiij . batelles therfor my Lorde of Surry and my Lorde Hawarde sodenly wer constreyned and enforced to deuide thair army in oder . iiij . batelles and els it was thought it shulde haue bene to thair great daunger and jeoperdy.

¶ Soe it was that the Lorde Chamberlaine of Scotlande¹ sayde beyng Capitayne of the firste batayle of the Scotths fyrstly dyd sette vpon maister Edmonde Hawarde . Capitayne of the vttermoste parte of the felde at the west syde. And betwene them was so cruell batayle that many of our partie . Cheshyre men and other dyd flee/ And the sayd mayster Edmonde in maner lefte alone without focoure and his standerde and berer of the same beten and hewed in peces and hymself . thryse stryken downe to the groud. Howbeit

¹ Here the missing part ends.

lyke a couragious & an hardy yonge lusty gentylman he recouered agayne and faught hande to hade with one fir Dauy home & slewe hym with his owne handes. And thus the sayde mayster Edmonde . was in . great perell and daunger tyll that the lorde Dacre lyke a good and an hardy knyght releued and came vnto hym for his focoure.

¶ The seconde Batayle came vpon my lorde . Hawarde. The thirde batayle wherin was the kynge of . Scottes & moſte parte of the noble men of his . Reame came fyerfly vpon my ſayd lord of . Surrey/ whiche two bataylles by the help of elmyghty god were after a greht confydelyete venquyſhed ouer comen betten downe & pvt to flyght and fewe of them eſcaped. with their lyues fyr. Edwarde Stanley beynge at the vttermoſte parte of the ſayd rerewarde one heſte¹ partie ſeynge the fourth batayle redy to releue the ſayde kynge of ſcottes batayle/ couragyouſly and lyke a luſty and an hardy knyght dyd ſette vpon the ſame and ouercame & put to flyght all the ſcottes in the ſayd batayle. And thus by the grace focour and helpe of almyghty god victory was gyven to the Reame of . England. And all the ſcottyſhe ordendnce wonne & brought to Ettell and Barwyke in . Suretie.

¶ Hereafter enſueth the names of ſondry nobleſmen of the ſcottes ſlayne at the ſayde batayle & felde called Brainſton moore./

¹ The caſt.

Firſte y ^e kyng of ſcotoes	Mac . Cleen.
The Archelyſhop of	Iohn of Graunte
ſeynt . Androwes.	The Maiſt of . Agwis
The byſhop of . Thyſes.	Lorde . Roos.
The byſhop of Ketnes.	Lord tempyll.
The Abbot ynachaffrey.	Lorde . Borthyke.
The Abbot of Rylwenny.	Lorde . Aſkyl.
Therle of . Mountroos.	Lorde . Dawiffie.
Therle of . Craforde.	Sir Alexander Scotlon
Therle of . Argyle.	Sire Iohn home.
Therle of lennox.	Therlo . Arell . Conſtable.
Therle of . Lncar.	Lorde . Lowett.
Therle of . Caſtelles.	Lorde . Forboos.
Therle of Boothwell	Lorde . Coluin.
Lorde . Elweſton.	Sir . Dauby home.
Lorde . Inderby	Cuthbert home of Faſ-
Lorde . Maxwell.	caſtell.
Mac Keyn.	

Over & aboue the ſeyd pſones there at ſlayne of the Scottes vewd by my lorde . Dacre the/ noumbre of . xi . or . xii . thouſande mend And of Englyſhme ſlayne and taken pryſoners vpon xii.C. dyuers pryſoners are taken of y^e ſcottes But noo Notable perſon ſaue oonly fyr/ wyllm Scotte knyght Councellour of the ſayde kyng of ſcottes and as is ſayd a gentylma well lerned Alſo Sir John Forma knyght broder to the Byſhop of Murrey which byſhop as is reported was &/ is mooft pryncyall procurour of this warre/

And one other called fr̄ John Colehome many other scottyshe prysoner . coude & myght haue been taken/ but they were soo vengeable & cruell in theyr fygh- tngy that/ whenne Englyshmen had the better of them they wolde nat saue them/ though it so were that dyuerse scottes offered great sumes of money for theyr lyues.

¶ It is to be noted that the felde beganne be- twene . iiij and . v. at after Noone and contynued within nyght if it had fortunēd to haue ben further afore nyght many mo scottes had ben slayne and taken prysoners louynge beto almyghty god all the noble men of Englande tha were vpon the same felde bothe lordes and Knyghtes are safe from any hurte/ And none of theym awantyngē saue oonly maister Harry Gray fyr Huinfeide lyle bothe prysoners in Scotlade fyr John . Gower of yorkefhyre and fyr John Boothe of Lancafshyre both wantynge and as yet nat founden.

¶ In this batayle the scottes hadde many great Auauntagies/ that is to wytte the hyghe . Hylles and mountaynes a great wynde with them and sodayne rayne all contrary to oug bowes and Archers.

¶ It is nat to be doubtēd but the scottes fought manly and were determyned outhur to wyne y^e Feld or to dye They were also as well apoynted as was possyble at al^l poyntes with Armoure & har- neys so that fewe of them were slayne with arrowes Howbeit the bylles did bete and hewe them downe woth some payne and daunger to Englyfshemen.

The sayd scottes were so playnely determyned to abyde batayle and nat to flee that they put from them theyr horfes and also put of theyr botes and shoes and faught in the vampis/¹ of theyr hooves every man for the moost ptie/ with a kene and a shape spere of . v. yerdes longe and a target aforh hym And when theyr speres fayled and wera spent/ then they faught with great end sharpe swardes makyng/ lytell or no noys/ withoue that; that for the ptie many of them wolde defyre to be saued.

¶ The felde where y^e scottes dyd/ lodge was nat to be reprouyd but rather to be romended greatly for there many and great nombre of goodiyl tenttes and moche good stufte in the same & in the sayd felde was plentie of wyne bere ale beif multon falsyfshe chese and other vytalles necessary and conuenient for fuche a great Army Albeit our Army doutynge that the sayd vytalles hadde ben poysoned for theyr distruccion wolde not saue but vtterly destroyed theym.

¶ Hereafter ensueth the names of such noble men as after the Felde were made knyght/ for theyr valyance Act/ in the same by my sayd lorde therle of Surrey.

¶ Firste my lorde Scrope	Sir Edmonde Hawarde
of wpsfall	Sir . Guy . Oawney
Sir willm. Percy	Sir . Raffe salwayne

¹ See ballad "Of the out yles ye rough foted scottes."

Sir . Richarde . Malleuerey	Sir/ Briane stapleton of
Sir george Darcy	wyghall.
Sir . w. gascoygne y° yoger	Sir . willm . Constable of
Sir . willm. Medlton	Hatefelde
Sir willm . Maleuerdy	Sir . willm . Constable of
Sir Thomas . Bartley	Larethorpe
Sir marmaduke . Costable	Sir Xpofer . Oanby
Sir xpofer . Dacre (y° yoger	Sir . Thomas Burght
Sir . Hohn . Hoothome.	Sir . willm . Rous
Sir . Nicholas . Appleyarde.	Sir . Thomas . Newton
Sire Edwarde . George	Sir . Roger of Fenwyke
Sir . Rauf . Ellercar y°	Sir . Roger Gray
yoges	Sir . Thomas Connyers
Sir . John wyliyby	My lorde Ogle
Sir . Edwarde . Echinghme	Sir . Thomas strngewafe
Sir . Edwarde . Musgraue	Sir . Henri . Thwaittes
Sir . John stanley	My lorde lumley
Sir . walter stonner	Sir . Xpofe . Pekerynge.
Sir . Nyniane martynfelde.	Sir . John Bulmer
Sir Raffe . Bowes	

¶ Emprynted by me. Richarde . Faques dwllyng In
poulys churche yerde.”

In this interesting and graphic description of the battle of Branxton Moor, or Floddon Field, it is worthy of notice that there is no account of the death of King James. It simply records the fact that the King and his son were slain; and, as no mention is

made of his body being found, it is probable the poem was written on the spot before the discovery.

All accounts agree as to the personal bravery of the King; although the superstition of the times, as noted by Holinshed, told upon him. "There chanced also manie things taken (as yee would say) for warnings of some great mischance to follow, which though some reputed but as vaine and casuall haps; yet the impressiion of them bred a certeine religious feare and new terror in his heart. For as he was in councell with his lords, to vnderstand their opinions touching the order of his battels, there was an hare start amongst them, which haueing a thousand arrowes, daggers, and other kind of things bestowed at hir, with great noise and showting, yet she escaped from them all safe and without hurt. The same night also, mise had gnawne in funder the buckle and leather of his helmet wherewith he should fasten the same to his hed. And moreouer, the cloth or veile of his inner tent (as is said) about the breake of the day, appeared as though the deawie moisture thereof hed beene of a bloudie colour."

King James, fancying that the English were giving way, dismounted from his horse, and, in spite of remonstrances from his friends, charged the enemy, who were, however, reinforced by Edward Stanley and his division, and the Scots were thoroughly

routed; the King, and all with him, being slain. Hall speaks most highly of the King's prowess in the following panegyric: "O what a noble and triumphant courage was thys for a kyng to fyghte in a battayll as a meane souldier: But what auayled hys stronge harnes, the puyssaunce of hys myghtye champions wyth whome he descended the hyll, in whome he soo much trusted that with hys stronge people and great number of men, he was able as he thought to haue vanquished that day the greatest prynce of the world, if he had ben there as the erle of Surrey was, or else he thought to do such an hygh enterpryce hym selfe in hys person, that should surmount the enterprises of all other princes: but how soeuer it happened God gaue the stroke and he was no more regarded then a poore souldier, for all went one way. So that of his awne bataill none escaped but fyr William Scot knight his chauncelour, and fyr Jhon forman knight, his seriaunt Porter, whiche were taken prisoners, and w^t great difficultie saued."

The body of the King having been stripped by marauders, was not found until the following day:—

"Well knowen it was by them that fought, and also reported by the prysoners of Scotlande, that theyr kyng was taken or slayne, but hys body was not founde tyll the next daye, because all the meane people as well Scottes as Englyshe were strypped oute

of theyr apparell as they laye on the felde, yet at the laste he was founde by the Lord Dacres, who knew hym well by hys pryue tokens in that same place where the battayle of the Earle of Surrey and hys, firste ioyned together.

Thys kynge had dyuerse deadely woundes and in especiall one with an Arowe, and an another wyth a byll as apered when he was naked. After that the bodye of the kynge of Scottes was found and brought to Barwycke, the Earle showed yt too Syr Wylliam Scott hys Chaunceller and Syr Jhon Forman hys feriante porter, whiche knewe hym at the fyrste fighte and made greate lamentacyon. Then was the bodye bowelled, embawmed, and cered, and secretly amongst other stufte conueyed to Newcastle. * * * * * After thys noble vyctorye therle wrote fyrste to the Quene whiche had rayfed a greate power to resiste the sayde Kynge of Scottes, of the wynnynge of the battayle, for then the bodye of the kynge of Scottes was not fownde, and she yet beyng at the towne of Buckyngham had woorde the next daye after that the kynge of Scottes was slaine, and a parte of hys coate armure to her sente,¹ for whiche victorye she thanked GOD, and so the Earle after that the Northe parte was sett in a quietnes, returned to the

¹ His gauntlet. His sword and dagger are among the most precious relics preserved in the Heralds' College.

Queene with the deade body of the Scottyshe Kyng and broughte it to Richemond."

From Richmond the royal remains were taken to the adjoining monastery of Sheen, in accordance with the testimony of Stowe, who says:—"After the battle, the bodie of the same King being found, was clofed in lead, and conveyed from thence to London, and to the monasterie of Sheyne in Surry, where it remained for a time, in what order I am not certaine; but since the dissolution of that house, in the reygne of Edward the Sixt, Henry Gray, Duke of Suffolke, being lodged, and keeping house there, I have been shewed the same bodie so lapped in lead, close to the head and bodie, throwne into a waste room amongst the old timber, lead, and other rubble. Since the which time, workmen there, for their foolish pleasure, hewed off his head; and Lancelot Young, master glazier to Queen Elizabeth, feelinge a sweet favour to come from thence, and seeing this same dried from all moisture, and yet the form remaining, with the haire of the head and beard red, brought it to London, to his house in Wood Street, where, for a time, he kept it for its sweetness, but in the end caused the sexton of that church (St. Michael's, Wood Street) to bury it amongst other bones taken out of their charnell."

Many of the Scots refused to believe their King to be dead. Lindsay, referring to the English searching

for the King's body after the battle, writes thus :—
 “ Bot they could not find him, albeit they fond
 fondry in his luferay ; for the fame day of the feild
 he caufed ten to be in his awin luferay lyk vnto his
 awin prefent apperell, amonges quhom was tuo of his
 awin guard : the on called Alexander M'Cullo, and
 the vther the fquyer of Cleifch, who war both verrie
 lyk in makdome to the King ; and fo they tuik on of
 thame, whom they thought lykeft to the Kyng, and
 keft him in ane chariott, and had him with thame
 into England ; but trew it is they gott not the King,
 becaus they had nevir the token of his yron belt to
 fchow to no Scottis man.”

And in another place the fame writer declares :—
 “ But ten yeires thairefter ane certane man being
 convict of his lyff for flaughter, offered to the duik of
 Albanie to latt him fie the place quhair the King was
 buried, and for the greater evidence, his yron belt befyd
 him in the grave. Bot this man gott no audjence
 be thame that was about him, and the duik of Albanie
 defired not that fick things fhould be knawin.”

Such was the fad fate of “ the fcottyshe kyng ”
 whose character Holinshed fums up in the following
 terms :—“ This James the fourth was of a firme
 bodie, of iuft ftature, of moft comelie countenance,
 and of fharpe witte, but altogether vnlearned, as the
 fault of that age was. But he did diligentlie applie
 himfelfe to an old custome of the countrie, cunninglie

to cure wounds, the knowledge whereof in times past was a thing common to all the nobilitie, being alwaies vsed in the warres. He was easilie to be spoken vnto, gentle in his answers, iust in his iudgements, and so moderat in punishments, that all men might easilie see he was vnwillingly drawn vnto them. Against the detraction of the euill, and admonishment of the good, there was such worthinesse of mind in him (confirmed by the quiet of a good conscience, and the hope of his innocencie) that he would not onelie not be angrie, but not so much as vse a sharpe word vnto them. Amongest which vertues, there were certeine vices crept in by the ouermuch desire to please the people, for whilest he laboured to auoid the note of covetousnesse (obiected to his father) and sought to win the favour of the common sort (with sumptuous feasts, gorgeous shewes, and large gifts) he fell into that pouertie, that it seemed (if he had liued long) that he would have lost the favour of his people (wonne in old times) by the imposition of new taxes. Wherefore his death was thought to haue timelie happened vnto him."

To the above accounts of James and the Battle of Floddon, few notes need be added. Two or three, however, may render the sense of the ballad clearer in some places.

"A kynge a fomner it is wonder."—Skelton, in his

disgust at James's letter to Henry, could not speak strongly enough, so he used an epithet to him which, as an ecclesiastic, was perhaps the most spiteful he could employ. A somner, or apparitor, was accounted an exceedingly mean office. Chaucer, in "the Frere's prologue," says :—

"A sompnour is a renner vp and doun
With mandemens afor fornicatioun
And is ybete at euery tounes ende."

And in "the Freres tale" he enlarges, in a still more unfavoury manner on the office of Somner.

"thre skippes of a pye," or three hops of a magpie, is a term used to denote the small value of James's expostulations—see also "your counseyle was not worth a flye."

"Ye had bet better to haue busked to huntley bakes."—Huntly bank was the place where Thomas of Erceldoune met the Fairy Queen, and is on one of the Eldoun Hills—but Skelton seems to have used it at random, and only for the sake of the rhyme; thus in his verses against Dundas, "Dundas dronken and drowfy, skabed, scuruy, and lowfy," he says :—

"Dundas
That dronke affe,
That rates and rantis,
That prates and prantes
On Huntley bankes."

Again, in "Why come ye not to Courte":

"They play their olde prances,
After Huntley bankes:"

and in "Howe the douty Duke of Albany," &c.,

"And for to wright
In the dispyght
Of the Scottes ranke
Of Huntley banke."

"That noble erle the whyte Lyon," was Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, son of the first Duke of Norfolk, slain at Bosworth. He himself was there taken prisoner, attainted, and lost the earldom—as his father had lost his dukedom—from the fact of his rebellion. After three years' imprisonment in the Tower his earldom was restored, as was also his dukedom after Flodden, when an augmentation of arms was granted to him, bearing on the bend of his own arms a demi-lion of Scotland, pierced through the mouth with an arrow.

His son, "the lorde admirall," was at the same time created Earl of Surrey.

The white lion was the badge of the house of Howard, and Holinshed explains this in the following way:—"Upon the honor of this victorie, Thomas Haward earle of Surrie (as a note of the Conquest) gaue to his seruants this cognifance (to weare on their

left arme) which was a white lion (the beaft which he before beare as the proper ensigne of that house) standing over a red lion (the peculiar note of the kingdome of Scotland) and tearing the same red lion with his pawes."

A BALLADE OF THE SCOTTYSSHE KYNGE.

A ballade of the Scottyshe kyng.



Runge Ramp/Romp pour. Joye is all go
ye sommoed our kyng whp dyde peso
To pou no thynge it dyde accorde
To sommon our kyng pour souverayne lord.

A kynge a somner it is wonder
 Knowe ye not salte and suger asonder
 In pour somnyng ye were to malaperte
 And pour harolde no thyng epperte
 ye thought ye dyde it full balpauntolpe
 But not worth thre skypes of a ppe/
 Syr squer galparde ye were to swpste.
 pour wyl renne before pour wytte.
 To be so scozefull to pour alpe/
 pour counseyle was not worth a sipe.
 Before the frenshe kynge/danes/and other
 ye ought to honour pour lorde and brother
 Crowe ye syr James his noble grace/
 For you and pour scottes wolde tourne his face
 Now ye proude scottes of gelawaye.
 For pour kynge may synge welawaye
 Now must ye knowe our kynge for pour regent/
 pour souerayne lorde and president/
 In hym is figured melchisedeche/
 And ye be desolate as armeleche
 He is our noble champpon.
 A kynge anoynted and ye be non
 Thugh pour counseyle pour fader was slayne
 wherfore Here ye wyl sustre payne/
 And ye proude scottes of dunbar
 Warde ye be his homager.
 And suters to his parlyment/
 ye dyde not pour dewty therin.
 wherfore ye may it now repent
 ye bere pour selfe som what to bolde/
 Therfore ye haue lost pour copholde.

ye be bounde tenauntes to his estate.
 Gyue by your game ye playe chekmate.
 For to the castell of nozham
 I vnderstonde to soone ye cam,
 For a prysoner there now ye be
 Eytter to the deuyll or the trinite,
 Thanked be saynte. Gorge our ladies knyghte
 Your pyd is paste adwe good nyght.
 ye haue determyned to make a trape
 Our kynge than beyng out of the wape
 But by the power and myght of god
 ye were beten weth your owne rod
 By your wanton wyll syr at a worde
 ye haue losse spoies/cote armure/and sworde
 ye had bet better to haue busked to huntyn bakes/
 Than in Englonde to playe ony such pranks
 But ye had some wyle seide to sowe.
 Therfore ye be layde now full lowe/
 your power coude no lenger attayne
 warre with our kynge to meynstayne.
 Of the kynge of nauerne ye may take hede/
 How vnfortunatly he doth now spede/
 In double welles now he dooth dzeme.
 That is a kynge witou a realme
 At hym example ye wolde none take.
 Experyence hath brought you in the same brake
 Of the outples ye rough soted scottes/
 we haue well eased you of the hottes
 ye rowe ranke scottes and broken danes
 Of our englyshe bowes ye haue sette your banes.
 It is not spytyng in tour noz towne/

